

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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SECRET SECTION 1 OF 2 NAIROBI 2853

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP, KE
SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH KENYA DELEGATION

1. DEPARTMENT IS WELL AWARE OF KENYAN VIEWS ON MOST ISSUES
LIKELY TO BE RAISED BY DELEGATION. THEREFORE THIS CABLE
ASSUMES KNOWLEDGE OF THIS BACKGROUND AND CONFINES ITSELF TO
SIMPLE RESTATEMENTS OF KENYAN POSITIONS AND SUGGESTED US
TALKING POINTS IN RESPONSE THERETO.

2. THE WAR IN THE OGADEN

KENYAN POSITIONS

-- SOMALIA HAS COMMITTED UNPROVOKED AGGRESSION AGAINST
A PEACEABLE NEIGHBOR.

-- THE OGADENIS, BE THE OF SOMALI ETHNIC ORIGIN OR NOT,
ASR ETHIOPIAN CITIZENS AND SUBJECTS, IN RELATION TO WHOM THE
GOVERNMENT IN ADDIS ABABA HAS SOLE AUTHORITY.

-- WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT THE "BORDER" BETWEEN SOMALIA
AND ETHIOPIA IS JURIDICALLY ONLY A "PROVISIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE
LINE" THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION FOR SOMALIA'S ARMED ATTEMPT
TO OCCUPY THE OGADEN, AND, IN ANY CASE, NONE OF THE HISTORI-
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CALLY PROPOSED BOUNDARIES WOULD HAVE GIVEN SOMALIA NEARLY
THE AMOUNT OF ETHIOPIA'S TERRITORY SHE APPARENTLY CLAIMS.

-- THE WESTERN SOMALI LIBERATION FRONT AND THE SOMALI
ABO FRONT EXIST AS MILITARY THREATS TO ETHIOPIA ONLY BECAUSE
THEY HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED AND ARMED BY THE MOGADISCHIO GOVERN-
MENT. BY THEMSELVES, THEY MIGHT CONSTITUTE A NUISANCE, BUT

NOTHING MORE.

-- THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT, INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN, HAS EVERY RIGHT UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW TO ASK THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES FOR MATERIAL AND PERSONNEL ASSISTANCE IN HELPING TO REPEL THE SOMALI AGGRESSOR.

-- AN EQUITABLE PEACE CAN ONLY BE ESTABLISHED BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA WHEN ALL SOMALI FORCES ARE WITHDRAWN FROM THE OGADEN, TOGETHER WITH AS MUCH OF THE WAR MATERIEL AS PRACTICABLE THAT WAS INTRODUCED INTO THE OGADEN BY SOMALIA.

-- ALTHOUGH ETHIOPIA DOES NOT INTEND TO CROSS THE SOMALIA BORDER, IF IT DID SO THIS ACTION WOULD CONSTITUTE NO MORE A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE THAN DID SOMALIA'S CROSSING THE ETHIOPIAN BORDER WITH HER TROOPS.

US TALKING POINTS

-- WE RECOGNIZE THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, ONE OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE OAU, AND HAVE SO STATED SINCE THE OUTSET OF THE FIGHTING.

-- WE HAVE CALLED FOR A WITHDRAWAL OF SOMALI ARMY FORCES FROM THE OGADEN AS A PRELUDE TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

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-- WE BELIEVE A FINAL SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE A MATTER OF NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA.

-- WE SIMILARLY BELIEVE THAT AFRICAN ISSUES, SUCH AS THE FIGHTING IN THE OGADEN, ARE BEST LEFT TO AFRICANS TO RESOLVE AND WE HAVE GIVEN OUR FIRM SUPPORT TO THE OAU MEDIATION EFFORT.

-- WE STRONGLY DISAPPROVE OF INVOLVEMENT BY EXTRA-CONTINENTAL FORCES, SUCH AS THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS, AND BELIEVE THAT THEIR REMOVAL SHOULD FIGURE AS A PART OF A FINAL SOLUTION.

-- CONSISTENT WITH THE ABOVE, WE HAVE STAYED NEUTRAL IN THE CONFLICT, REFUSING TO SUPPLY DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY ARMS TO EITHER Belligerant.

-- WE EMPHASIZE THAT WE DEPLORE THE HUMAN SUFFERING THIS WAR HAS BROUGHT ABOUT AND WE HAVE AFFORDED HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO BOTH SIDES.

3. KENYA-SOMALI RELATIONS

KENYAN POSITIONS

-- SOMALI IRRENDENTISM IS A REAL AND URGENT THREAT, AS EVIDENCED BY THE SHIFTA WAR OF 1963-67 AND THE OGADEN INVATION OF JULY 1977.

-- THE SOMALIS HAVE PROVEN THEMSELVES UNTRUSTWORTHY NEIGHBORS BY THEIR MILITARY ADVENTURISM.

-- A GSDR SUCCESS IN THE OGADEN WILL WHET THE SOMALI APPETITE FOR EXPANSION INTO KENYA. A DEFEAT MAY TEMPT THE SOMALIS TO SAVE FACE BY A CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE NEP.

-- SOMALI CLAIMS ON KENYA'S NEP ARE COMPLETELY UNFOUNDED
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IN INTERNATIONAL LAW (THERE IS AN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED BORDER BETWEEN SOMALI AND KENYA) AND REPRESENT NOTHING MORE THAN SOMALI EXPANSIONISM.

-- THE SOMALI THREAT CAN BE REMOVED ONLY BY A PUBLIC RENUNCIATION BY THE GSDR OF ITS CLAIMS TO KENYAN TERRITORY.

-- NOTHING SHORT OF THE ABOVE WILL SUFFICE.

-- KENYA RECOGNIZES ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE 250,000 ETHNIC SOMALIS WITHIN KENYA AND HAS UNDERTAKEN DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS AIMED AT RAISING THEIR LIVING STANDARD.

US TALKING POINTS

-- WE APPRECIATE KENYAN CONCERNs REGARDING SOMALI IRRENDENTISM, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE MILITANCY WITH WHICH THE GSDR HAS PURSUED ITS POLICY OF "GREATER SOMALIA."

-- WE ALSO RECOGNIZE THE CURRENT MILITARY IMBALANCE BETWEEN KENYAN AND SOMALI FORCES.

-- WHILE WE APPRECIATE THE GOK'S POSITION THAT ONLY A PUBLIC RENUNCIATION OF THE SOMALI TERRITORIAL CLAIMS WOULD FULLY ALLAY KENYA'S FEARS, WE WOULD NOTE THAT THE GSDR HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT, WHILE IT CANNOT PUBLICLY RENOUNCE SUPPORT FOR A "GREATER SOMALIA" CONCEPT BECAUSE OF INTERNAL POLITICAL REASONS, IT HAS NO INTENTION OF FORCEFULLY ATTEMPTING TO ANNEX THE NEP.

-- WE APPRECIATE WHY THE GOK INSISTS ON A FULL PUBLIC RENUNCIATION AND UNDERSTAND WHY MEASURES SHORT OF THAT, SUCH AS A NON-AGGRESSION PACT, WOULD NOT TOTALLY SATISFY THE GOK.

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-- HOWEVER, WE WOULD HOPE THE GOK WOULD BE RECEPTIVE TO ANY SOMALI OVERTURES TOWARD NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS, WHICH MIGHT INCLUDE THE GSDR'S RECOGNITION THAT THE BORDER IS DE JURE AND THAT ETHNIC SOMALIS WITHIN KENYA ARE KENYAN CITIZENS AND THEREFORE THE SOLE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOK.

-- WE APPRECIATE THE GREAT DIFFICULTIES FACING THE GOK IN DEVELOPING THE EASTERN AND NORTHEASTERN PROVINCES AND WE STAND READY TO HELP IN THIS DEVELOPMENT EFFORT.

4. KENYAN-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS

KENYAN POSITIONS

-- CLOSE TIES WITH ETHIOPIA ARE LONG-STANDING, WITH A MUTUAL DEFENSE PACT DATING FROM 1964 OR SHORTLY AFTER INDEPENDENCE.

-- ETHIOPIA IS CLEARLY A VICTIM OF SOMALI AGGRESSION, A FACT WHICH MAKES US ALLIES IN A COMMON CAUSE AGAINST A COMMON FOE.

-- THE PRESENT RADICAL TENDENCY OF THE MENGISTU REGIME IS WORRISOME AND POSES A POTENTIAL THREAT FOR FUTURE CLOSE RELATIONS.

-- THE GREAT SOVIET AND CUBAN PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA IS CAUSE FOR CONCERN, BUT IT WAS SOMALIS WHO FIRST BROUGHT THE COMMUNISTS TO THE HORN.

-- KENYA DOES NOT FEEL ITSELF PRESENTLY THREATENED BY THE SOVIET UNION BUT RECOGNIZES THAT A STRONG SOVIET PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA MAY POSE PROBLEMS FOR KENYA IN THE FUTURE.

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US TALING POINTS

--WE RECOGNIZE THE HISTORICAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN KENYA

AND ETHIOPIA AND FULLY APPRECIATE KENYAN CONCERNS REGARDING SOMALI IRREDENTISM.

--IT IS NOT FOR US TO TELL OTHERS WHO THEIR FRIENDS OR ALLIES SHOULD BE.

--WE HAVE BEEN MOST IMPRESSED TO DATE BY THE STATESMAN-LIKE CONDUCT OF THE GOK IN AVOIDING BECOMING MILITARILY INVOLVED IN THE OGADEN FIGHTING.

--WE ARE COGNIZANT OF KENYAN CONCERNS OVER THE PRESENT RADICAL TENDENCY OF THE MENGISTU REGIME, ITS EXCESSES AND THE STRONG AND INCREASING SOVIET AND CUBAN INFLUENCE.

--WE WANT THE GOK TO KNOW THAT DESPITE OUR PAST DIFFICULTIES WITH THE MENGISTU REGIME, WE WISH TO MAINTAIN A SOUND AND REALISTIC RELATIONSHIP WITH ADDIS AND O THIS END RECENTLY SENT A HIGH-LEVEL DELEGATION THERE. THE TALKS WERE CONSTRUCTIVE. WE HAVE ANNOUNCED PLANS TO SEND AN AMBASSADOR O ADDIS IN THE FUTURE.

--WE KNOW FROM EXPERIENCE THAT ONCE THE SOVIETS AND THEIR COMMUNIST ALLIES GAIN A FOOTHOLD THEY WILL NOT LEAVE OF THEIR OWN ACCORD. WE ALSO KNOW, AHD THE RECORD IN AFRICA CLEARLY SUBSTANTIATES THIS, THAT SOVIET INFLUENCE IS PREDOMINANTLY MILITARILY ORIENTED AND VIRTUALLY IGNORES THE REAL NEED OF AFRICAN NATIONS, NAMELY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

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--WE REITERATE OUR UNDERSTANDING OF KENYA'S ASSESSMENT THE HER MOST URGENT THREAT IS SOMALI IRREDENTISM, BUT WE WOULD WISH TO REITERATE OUR VIEW THAT IN THE LONG RUN, FOR KENYA AS WELL AS OTHERS IN THE REGION, COMMUNIST PENETRATION

MAY PROVE TO BE THE MOST SERIOUS THREAT.

5. KENYA'S SECURITY NEEDS

THE KENYAN POSITION

--KENYA IS FACED WITH A GENUINE THREAT OF MILITARY ATTACK BY SOMALIA WHEN THE OGADEN WAS IS CONCLUDED. WHILE RELATIONS WITH UGANDA HAVE IMPROVED IN RECENT WEEKS, PRESIDENT AMIN IS IRASCIBLE AND UNPREDICTABLE. HE HAS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS IN THE PAST TWO YEARS THREATENED MILITARY ACTION AGAINST KENYA.

--BOTH SOMALIA AND UGANDA CURRENTLY POSSESS FAR LARGER MILITARY ARSENALS THAN KENYA. THE PRESENT KENYAN MILITARY MODERNIZATION PROGRAM, INCLUDING PURCHASE FROM THE US OF 12 F-5E/F AIRCRAFT, WILL GIVE KENYA SOME DEFENSIVE CAPABILITY. BUT KENYAN FORCES WILL REMAIN INADEQUATE, PARTICULARLY IN THE EVENT OF A FULL-SCALE SOMALI ATTACK, UNLESS THE MODERNIZATION PROGRAM IS EXPANDED.

--KENYA LOOKS TO THE UNITED STATES TO HELP MEET ITS LEGITIMATE SECURITY NEEDS.

--IN VIEW OF THE URGENT NATURE OF THE THREAT, THE GOK HOPES THE US WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO EXPEDITE THE DELIVERY OF THE ARMS WHICH KENYAN NEEDS.

US TALKING POINTS

--THE US DEEPLY VALUES ITS CLOSE TIES WITH KENYA AND TAKES VERY SERIOUSLY KENYAN CONCERNS ABOUT ITS SECURITY.

--ALONG WITH THE UK WE HAVE PLASED THE LARGEST ROLE IN ATTEMPTING TO ASSIST KENYA IN ITS CURRENT MILITARY MODERNIZATION EFFORT. THE FIRST SIX F-5S WILL BE ARRIVING IN KENYA

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AT THE END OF THIS MONTH.

--WE ARE PAINED THAT POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE REGION HAVE CAUSED THE GOK TO RESORT TO THE DIVERSION OF A GREAT AMOUNT OF SCARCE RESOURCES FOR MILITARY PROCUREMENT. IT IS OUR VIEW, IN PRINCIPLE, THAT EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE EXPENDED TO DEVISE POLITICAL SOLUTIONS TO THESE PROBLEMS WHICH WOULD OBLIVIATE THE NEED FOR FURTHER LARGE SCALE MILITARY EXPENDITURES. JAATHIS ADMINISTRATION HAS TAKEN A POLICY DECISION TO FORBID THE SALE OF OFFENSIVE WEAPONS SYSTEMS IN AFRICA. THIS WOULD MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO PROVIDE ANY AFRICAN NATION WITH WEAPONS SYSTEMS SUCH AS TANKS OR ATTACK AIRCRAFT. WE NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT KENYA HAS BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN THE VICKERS MAIN BATTLE TANK FROM THE UK, AND THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE HAWKER SIDDLEY HAWK AIRCRAFT ARE ADVANCED.

--WE WANT TO HELP KENYA MAXIMIZE THE BENEFIT OBTAINED FROM ITS EXPENDITURES. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THE GOK SHOULD AVOID PROCURING DUPLICATE OR OVERLAPPING WEAPONS SYSTEMS FROM DIFFERENT SUPPLIERS.

--WE WOULD BE PLEASED TO SEND A SURVEY TEAM TO KENYA TO LOOK TOGETHER WITH THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE INTO AREAS OF POSSIBLE NEED, AND TO DETERMINE TOGETHER HOW THE US MIGHT BE HELPFUL. WHEN THE RESULTS OF THE SURVEY TEAM'S WORK ARE IN HAND WE COULD THEN CONSIDER ON A MORE REALISTIC BASIS THE DIMENSIONS OF FUTURE US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO KENYA.

6. EAST AFRICA-UGANDA AND TANZANIA

KENYAN POSITIONS

--THE DEMISE OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY WAS REGRETTABLE

BUT NECESSARY.

--THERE HAS BEEN SOME IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH
TANZANIA AND UGANDA OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHSJM KENYA IS HOPEFUL
THAT A MODUS VIVENDI CAN BE ARRANGED WITH UGANDA WHICH WILL
PERMIT NORMAL COMMERCE AND ORDERLY TRANSACTION OF ESSENTIAL
GOVERNMENT BUSINESS. DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ARE BEING RESTORED.

--THE TANZANIAN PROBLEM IS MORE INTRACTABLE, BUT IT MAY

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WELL BE THAT SUFFICIENT PROGRESS CAN BE MADE ON INITIAL ISSUES,
SUCH AS THE NATURE OF THE FUTURE BILATERAL TRADE RELATIONSHIP,
TO PERMIT REOPENING OF
THE BORDER LATER THIS YEAR.

US TALKING POINTS

--WE HAVE BEEN WATCHING RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN RELATIONS
BETWEEN KENYA, UGANDA AND TANZANIA WITH INTEREST.

--WE HOPE THAT YOU ARE SUCCESSFUL IN DEVELOPING SATISFACTORY

WORKING RELTIONSHPIS WITH TANZANIA AND UGANDA. THIS WOULD
HELP ELIMINATE DESTABILIZING FACTORS IN THE REGION AND WOULD
SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE OF ALL THESE COUNTRIES.

JUM THE INDIAN OCEAN

THE KENYAN POSITION

--THE INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE CONCEPT SHOULD BE PURSUED
BECAUSE OF THE DANGER THAT GREAT POWER RIVALRY PROJECTED INTO
THE AREA COULD LEAD TO A CONFRONTATION INVOLVING STATES IN THE
REGION.

--THIS NOTWITHSTANDING, AS LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION MAINTAINS
MILITARY STRENGTH IN THE AREA, THE US SHOULD
RETAIN COMPARABLE
FORCE LEVELS.

--THE PRESENT SERIES OF US-SOVIET TALKS ARE A POSITIVE
APPROACH TO THE QUESTION OF LIMITING SUPER POWER MILITARY
PRESENCE IN THE NDIAN OCEAN, BUT THE INDIAN OCEAN STATES SHOULD
BE BROSOHT INTO THE CONSULTATIONS.

--FUTURE US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO KENYA SHOULD NOT BE
TRADED AWAY AS IART OF A US-SOVIET DEAL.

US TALKING POINTS

--THE US CONTINUES TO BE SERIOUS ABOUT THE BILATERAL TALKS
WITH THE SOVIET UNION. SME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, BUT THE
ISSUES ARE COMPLEX. THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL CONTINUE.

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--WE ARE PREPARED TO PROVIDE YOU WITH PERIODIC BRIEFINGS
ON PROGRESS IN THE TALKS, THROUGH OUR EMBASSY IN NAIROBI.

--WE DO NOT INTEND TO NEGOTIATE AWAY IN THESE TALKS OUR
RIGHT TO PROVIDE DEFENSIVE MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO FRIENDLY STATES
IN THE REGION.
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